

LEFT ON SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union in the last weeks has shown its sensitivity to criticism from progressive opinion throughout the world. Defence in most cases has taken the form of counter-attack. The recent "peace" conference in Moscow was a carefully-orchestrated display of concern for the sins of the West. It was spoiled only by the Rev. Paul Mayer's voicing of what was, no doubt, on everyone's mind — the repression of dissenters in the Soviet Union itself. The Soviets' concern with political repressions rapidly evaporates when the discussion turns to Soviet dissenters and Soviet political prisoners. Not even ministers for foreign affairs are allowed a question here, as Mr. Mitchell Sharp found out on his recent trip to Moscow.

But what is more important than the ink lately splashed about on the "left-wing" issue is the growing debate in left-wing circles on the nature of the Soviet Union and the left-wing's concern for the fate of Soviet dissenters.

The Kremlin feels the need for a recantation from Ivan Dzyuba precisely because of the importance it attaches to a book like "Internationalism or Russification?". This sort of text has led to a revival of discussion among the left on the nationalities policy and especially on the question of the Ukraine. The samvydav (samizdat) material has been of a high quality and over the last few years has considerably raised the level of argument on these problems. It is this sort of open discussion that the ruling clique in Moscow fears most.

The results of the current debates in the left have led to a more accurate differentiation of various currents within the dissent movement and to the sharpening of divisions on this issue between left-wing groups.

Recently the U of Toronto newspaper, "Varsity", carried an editorial in which it challenged the left to take a stand on the issue of Soviet repression of dissidents and not to allow the question to become an exclusively "right-wing issue."

"Leftists seem to have stood idly by," says the editorial, "while large segments of the population have accepted the argument that socialism is impossible without degeneration into the kind of repressive atmosphere which characterises the countries which now call themselves 'socialist.' This is an abdication of responsibility to say the least.

"Of course the right-wing has its own reasons for charging the left with hypocrisy, and it is important to point out the right is guilty of the same type of actions (they were, for

example, conspicuously silent about the events in Chile). But if leftists are to have any credibility, they can not just dismiss the criticisms as a right-wing ploy. The criticism is legitimate, if not constructive, and the leftists must come to terms with it."

The editor's knowledge of Soviet dissidents did not appear to go beyond Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov, and he failed to touch the question of whom should be defended for what and how. Solzhenitsyn is a talented writer with a reactionary viewpoint; there are Russian chauvinists, various religious groups and different political opinions within the dissent movement. But the need for action was made clear by the editor: "Solzhenitsyn knows what the left should also know: the Soviet ruling class is very conscious of its worldwide image. It would be particularly embarrassing to the Soviet rulers if they saw that their supposed 'allies' were getting involved in a 'right-wing' cause."

"There is enough oppression, repression and depression in the world to occupy all the time of even the most protest-happy political group, but this is no excuse to leave the issue of Soviet repression to people who want to 'save the world from socialism'. If the left is to be credible and relevant and sincere, left-wingers must protest injustice everywhere, including countries which pay lip service to the rhetoric of socialism."

Many of the points made here would seem self-evident were it not for the reaction to the editorial. The president of the U of T Communist Club (Stalinists) accused the "Varsity" of a Cold War attack on the Soviet Union. In a letter entitled "Soviet repression a Cold War myth", the writer condemned the editor for being unable to make the elementary distinction between a capitalist society "in which a handful of financial interests use the power of the state to exploit and repress the majority" and a socialist society "in which the workers and farmers use the power of the state to ensure that they get the benefits of their own labour." The problem here is not the inability to make the "elementary" distinction between the two definitions but the question "to which definition does the Soviet Union belong?" Certainly not to the latter. And if not to the former, then what is wrong with the question? Neither the problem nor the distinction are simple or "elementary." To imply that the ownership of the means of production by the state is the same thing as the management of those means of production by the

working class people who operate them is grossly misleading. It might be salutary for the Communist Club president to bear in mind that this winter is the 40th anniversary of the effects of collectivisation in the Soviet Ukraine. Another simple answer to an "elementary" distinction that led to six million deaths from famine.

It is this sort of discussion that has led to the recognition among some groups of the need for building the defence of Soviet political prisoners from a principled political position. (At the very least, the position has to be a well thought out one.) When one approaches people on campus, one is constantly amazed at the misconceptions the trendy-left and even more serious students harbour as to the nature of the Soviet Union and the demands of dissenters.

Such a principled stand is all the more important now as detente leads to Nixon and Brezhnev playing pals with one another. During the Arab-Israeli war, as arms were again being shipped around the world, U.S. oilmen were mounting a \$20 million display of oil- and gas-extraction equipment in Moscow. American technicians estimate that Soviet drilling and extraction equipment lags 15 years behind U.S. technology in this

field, so they are in Moscow to help it along. Every attempt is made to avoid subjects that the Soviet Union finds touchy. That means subjects like dissenters, political prisoners and the nationalities problem above all. Take for example Sharp's rebuke from Gromyko, the Peace Conference in Moscow, and even the article on Dzyuba's recantation. That article appeared only in the first edition of the "Globe and Mail" and was quickly taken out of later editions of the same newspaper.

The recent arrests in the Ukraine, the smear campaign being directed against some Soviet intellectuals who have had the courage to speak out against authoritarian rule in the USSR — these things emphasise the necessity for greater left-wing involvement in the issue. It should, in fact, be a "left-wing issue."

Recently a decision was made to hold an open meeting of various left-wing groups on the U of Toronto campus. Each group will be asked to define its position on the nature of the Soviet Union and, in particular, on the question of dissenters in the USSR. It is to be hoped that this meeting will lead to the active involvement of these groups in the struggle against political repression in the USSR.

M. Vynnychuk



DZYUBA

Ivan Dzyuba, the prominent Ukrainian literary critic, has been pardoned from a ten year sentence in prison and exile after renouncing his former attacks on Russification in the Ukrainian Republic.

"Literary Ukraine", a communist newspaper printed in the Soviet Union, recently published a copy of Dzyuba's confession.

He states that he has wrongly criticized, in his book "Internationalism or Russification," the Soviet government's nationalities policy, and that "his book contains a deeply mistaken understanding of national problems."

"Further," says Ivan Dzyuba, "I will write a book in which I will

argumentatively uncover the inconsistencies, contradictions and lies present in my work..." "I regret my obviously idiotic mistakes, and that I squandered my time," writes Dzyuba.

Dzyuba goes on to denounce Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists in the West and says that "I will no longer give them any advice and will try to put an end to their ability to ridicule my past mistakes."

Dzyuba, 42, who is married and has one child, has been suffering from tuberculosis and was not expected to survive a full term of five years in penal camp.



'PEACE' CONFERENCE

The World Congress of Peace Forces, a gathering of about 3,000 persons representing peace groups, and other organizations from 141 countries, recently met in Moscow.

The Soviet-sponsored congress which convened to consider a variety of world issues, has generally stayed within bounds acceptable to Soviet ideology. But the Rev. Paul Mayer who represents the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, had more divergent views.

A statement signed by seven Americans, prominent in the Activist Left (David T. Dellinger of the Chicago Seven, the Rev. Daniel J. Berrigan, Noam Chomsky, Dr. Sidney Peck, David McReynolds and Grace Paley) was presented to the World Peace Congress by Father Mayer. It denounced political repressions in the Soviet Union and the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

"It is intolerable — absolutely intolerable — for anyone to set the limits of free speech or of the freedom to write and openly distribute and discuss what has been written," said Paul Mayer, a Roman Catholic priest, in a speech to the congress.

"We therefore join in condemning the Soviet government for its campaign to silence not only its intellectuals but any Soviet citizens who seek to exercise their rights —

rights already defined and contained in the Soviet constitution," he said. Father Mayer then identified several of the statement's signees and said: "Some of us and many of our friends have at various times been brought to trial or imprisoned for our actions, or have been forced from jobs because of our dissenting views. We mention these matters not to be self-serving but to make it clear that we have earned the right to speak on the subject of Soviet dissenters."

Only about 120 of the delegates, mainly from Communist countries, attended the session at which Mayer delivered the statement, and was applauded by a few delegates, while promptly attacked by many others.

Sensing strong opposition from the other American delegates, Father Mayer resigned his post as co-chairman of the American delegation in an effort to forestall a serious schism in the delegation. On the following day, the delegation accepted the resignation, censured Father Mayer and dissociated itself from the statement.

While the American delegates paid for their charter flight to Moscow, the Soviet sponsors of the congress paid expenses of all the other delegates, who stayed in the Soviet Union from one to two

weeks.

"There's been an implicit understanding not to offend the hosts by bringing up awkward subjects," said one American delegate.

The congress ended after the drawing up of statements which embodied the congresses ideology.

The resolutions drawn up, called on all nations "to unite, in order to insure, peace throughout the world, and the destruction of all nuclear weapons."

"Until there remains even five countries where the oppression of peoples continues, and where blood continues to flow, until there remains even one country that denies another the right to choose its own fate, and until there continue to exist fascist and racist regimes that repress democratic freedoms, till then the conscience of every man can never rest, and the development of peace can never occur." The resolutions went on to say that "We will never cease to fight for the freedom and liberty that belongs to every individual."

Fine words, spoken, no doubt, for the Western press. But Mayer's words will probably linger on longer in the minds of the delegates: "We support the Soviet dissidents in their demands for free speech and assembly."

Lubomyr Szech

UKRAINE DELEGATION AT UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

On Oct. 22, a group of official visitors from the Ukrainian S.S.R. met with representatives of the University of Manitoba. Following the visit, the university's Bulletin (Nov. 7) carried an article listing the individuals from the various cultural, academic, and editorial fields comprising the delegation and the ques-

tions they posed to the U.O.F.M. representatives. The most paradoxical of the Ukrainian delegation's questions were their inquiries concerning the state of Russian history and literature at this university. No questions were posed about the state and development of Ukrainian studies.

Why do they inflict these upon us?

Mr. Kuleshov is one of those Soviet professors who tells you he is a conservative and who likes to compare the sunshine in Yalta to that in Vancouver.

He was recently lionized in several academic circles in Toronto and Waterloo as the visiting chairman of the Russian literature department of Moscow State University.

On November 6th he gave a lecture on "The current problems of

we (I knew you wouldn't guess) — the Pushkin Pleiad, the influence of Schopenhauer on Turgenev and Nietzsche's impact on Dostoevsky. Just the thing that stirs today's undergraduate! No mention was made of such unknowns as Voznesensky, Khyl'ovoy, Drach, Holobor'd'ko or (what's his name?) — Solzhenitsyn.

The closest Mr. Kuleshov got to the 20th Century was Chekhov. In fact, he became quite tearful on the subject of Chekhov's visit to the salt-mines in Siberia. Those nasty tsarist times!

Neither did the word "Soviet" seem to be part of the professor's vocabulary: "Russian" seemed to fit every case perfectly.

When asked later about the possibility of a student from Toronto University studying in the USSR he beamed happily, "Of course, everything can be arranged. . . . What is the subject of the student's research?"

"The 1920s."

"Praklyatyte dvadtsatye goda!" came the reply.



Soviet literary criticism," in which he outlined several areas of research which he would like to see students like ourselves become involved in. The burning topics put forward

of bricks was now heavier than I, and before I knew what was happening, the barrel jerked me up in the air. I hung onto the rope, and halfway up I met the barrel coming down, receiving a severe blow on the left shoulder.

"I then continued on up to the top, banging my head on the beam and jamming my fingers in the pulley.

"When the barrel hit the ground, the bottom burst, spilling the bricks.

As I was now heavier than the barrel, I started down at high speed. Halfway down, I met the empty barrel coming up, receiving severe lacerations to my shins. When I hit the ground, I landed on the bricks, receiving several cuts and contusions from the sharp edges of the bricks. At this point, I must have become confused because I let go of the rope. The barrel came down, striking me on the head, and I woke up in the hospital. I respectfully request sick leave."

CHARLIE BROWN IN MOSCOW

In case you are worried by the Soviet Union's recent adherence to the copyright convention here is a loophole to bear in mind.

Charlie Brown and his gang have arrived in Moscow on the pages of the English-language weekly, the Moscow news. The Peanuts cartoon family were introduced to brighten up the paper and make it appeal to a wider audience.

The event was news, however, to the artist-creator, Charles M. Schulz and his associates, who were never asked permission to reprint the world famous cartoon.

Instead the Moscow editors took advantage of an apparent loophole



in the international copyright convention.

"No, we have no copyright permission," an editor of the Moscow News said. "Our paper, as well as all other papers, is not covered by the convention signed by the Soviet Union. Only books and magazines are covered."

Publishers of samvydav take note.

COMEDY OF ERRORS

PETERBOROUGH (CUP) — A man hired by a construction company was asked to fill out the details of an accident that put him in the hospital after less than an hour on the job.

His job was simply to carry an excess of bricks from the top of a two storey house down to the ground. This is his meticulous report:

"Thinking I could save time, I rigged a beam with a pulley at the top of the house, and a rope leading to the ground. I tied an empty barrel on one end of the rope, pulled it to the top of the house, and then fastened the other end of the rope to a tree. Going up to the top of the house, I filled the barrel with bricks.

"Then I went back down and unfastened the rope to let the barrel down. Unfortunately the barrel

MULTICULTURAL CONFERENCE

The Federal government's "First (sic, — Ed.) Multicultural conference" on October 15th and 16th received little worthwhile publicity in the Canadian press. And yet several important points emerged from this conference. Senator Yuzyk's attack on the choice of delegates and the procedure of the conference was a challenge to the government's arbitrary decision as to which members of ethnic groups were worth inviting and whom the government considered "informed and interested Canadians." It seems that the Canadian Cultural Rights Committee, the Canadian Folk Arts Council and the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism did not approve the procedure of the conference.

They advised the government to invite the national organizations of the ethnic groups to send their own delegates. No attempt was made to do this and the result was a rather unrepresentative "packed" gathering which included among others, what one delegate has described as "the corrupt elite of every ethnic group". In the

weeks preceding the conference when attempts were made to phone the conference organizers and Mr. Haidasz, they proved to be unavailable.

The Second Thinkers' Conference was postponed precisely because the Secretary of State requested that a "more comprehensive and substantial national gathering" be held. It is to be hoped that the Second Thinkers' conference will now go ahead with its plans regardless of the government's attempts to be "first", "more comprehensive" and "more substantial".

It is also interesting that nothing was said in the press of the most important points raised at the conference. In four out of the six workshops, the CBC's broadcasting policy was condemned as discriminatory to non-English and non-French ethnic groups. And this, in spite of the fact that the staff of the CBC was at the conference in force with continuous showings of almost every multicultural programme they had ever produced. Furthermore, the seminar on "language and culture retention" decided that language is

in fact essential to the preservation of culture and presented this conclusion to the whole conference on the second day.

This decision was reached on the basis of the report given by the "Secretary of State's research study on the relationship between language and culture." The report studied the ten largest ethnic groups in five major urban centres across Canada.

But not only the government was interested in keeping things in a low key. Here is part of a conversation between Mr. Kalba (the president of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee) and a member of SUSK:

"Mr. Kalba, we would like a civil liberties lawyer to represent the Ukrainian community at the CRTC hearings in January."

"I do not know if the presidium would agree to that..."

"If the UCC presidium does not agree to that then I promise you that there will be a demonstration of Ukrainian students in front of the UCC office in Winnipeg."

"Well, O.K. I promise that the UCC will agree."

About twelve companies which advertise nationally at peak time on the CBC are being approached by members of the Ukrainian committee. The companies, among them Canadian Tire and Colonel Saunders Chickens are being asked to suspend their advertising until the CBC changes its discriminatory language policy.

This is part of an effort to put some pressure on the CBC directors.

Attempts are being made to contact the presidents of other ethnic student groups, in order that they might generate some activity in their own community on this issue.

On November 27th a brief will be presented jointly by SUSK and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to the Standing Committee on Broadcasting in which the Ukrainian community will be stating the case of the non-British and non-French groups.

PRESIDENTIAL NOTES

The job is begin done but a great deal more work is necessary. A couple of committees have already started their work. The CBC Action Committee has not only been working on multilingual broadcasting but also has intervened in the CRTC hearings on private FM broadcasting proposals.

The CRTC came out with its proposals for private FM broadcasting but included nothing about multiculturalism. They totally ignored the Federal government's multicultural policy.

Therefore the National Executive submitted its intervention to the CRTC stating that the CRTC was obliged to include multicultural broadcasting in any new broadcasting proposals. Our brief, though not orally presented at the hearings, was read into the record of the proceedings. However, the feeling of those people who lobbied for this particular intervention was that the CRTC is not receptive to the arguments for the necessity of multilingual broadcasting. In fact, they report that the CRTC is very complacent. One member in fact stated that perhaps the CRTC is not fulfilling its mandate but if anyone wants to change the situation then they would have to make Parliament tell the CRTC to shape up.

However, the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Broadcasting, Films and As-

sistance to the Performing Arts, is more receptive responsive to the question of multi-lingual broadcasting on the CBC AM radio network. The question has been referred to this Committee as a result of the CBC's cancellation of a Gaelic programme broadcast on Cape Breton Island. At the time of the programme's cancellation in August 1973, SUSK sent its position paper to the programme director. This paper appears to be the basis of the Gael's arguments before the Standing Committee. Due to our activity in this particular area, SUSK has been invited to present evidence before the standing Committee on November 27th. As it stands now, it seems that the Parliamentary Committee will recommend to parliament that multilingual broadcasting be allowed on the CBC. Another possible recommendation is more surprising. The Committee may recommend that the CRTC include multilingual broadcasting in its private FM broadcasting proposals, a matter which was not in the original frame of reference of the Standing Committee.

Thus it would appear that our goals are very close to being fulfilled. Nevertheless, we are preparing to do further battle with the mandarins of the CBC if the present phase of the CBC Action is unsuccessful.

The Ukraine Committee has jumped into

action with the presentation of a brief to Mitchell Sharp on November 10. In the brief we asked that the matter of imprisoned Ukrainian intellectuals be brought up and that the student exchange between the Soviet Union and Canada include more Ukrainian Canadian students. Though Mr. Sharp agreed to bring up the latter he was hesitant about broaching the former point. It now appears, according to the news bulletins, that he brought up the former but not the latter.

There is an affiliated Ukrainian Committee being organized by the University of Western Ontario club.

One speaker has agreed to take part in our speaker's tour. He is a Flemish student, his name is Brantegen. A couple of years ago he was imprisoned for one month in the Soviet Union for distributing leaflets about Soviet political prisoners. His experiences at his trial and while in prison will be one of the main aspects of his talk.

The speakers' tour is only one aspect of the information-spreading role of the Committee. The Ukrainian Committee also hopes to put out a booklet and a series of monographs outlining the past and present situation in Ukraine.

The Committee also hopes to have a videotape of the *Symposium on Human*

Rights in the Soviet Ukraine available by January for interested clubs. The symposium took place during the Second Ukrainian World Congress. The areas covered were civil rights (Prof. Reddaway), religious rights (Prof. Bird, N.Y. City College), and the nationalities question (Prof. Bociurkiw, Carleton University).

Video SUSK has been inactive until now but should be in full swing by January with the editing of existing raw tapes and the shooting of more tapes. Also Video SUSK will be an information source for member clubs who wish to set up their own videotape committees.

The film tour has run into problems. We have been referred from one organization to another, and are now writing to the tenth organization we have been referred to. Nevertheless, we hope to have the films available by February.

Though this is not an exhaustive report, it indicates the areas in which we have been working. A more in-depth report will appear in the newsletter and the next issue of "Student", in which there will be an account of both eastern and western club visitations and reports on the conferences and congresses which the National Executive has participated in.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE BRITISH DELEGATES ATTENDING THE WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE CONGRESS, MOSCOW 1973

Dear Friends,

The Moscow Peace Conference will, doubtless, rightly denounce the bloody repression and imperialist counter-revolution of régimes such as those of Spain, South Africa and Chile, which are killing, torturing and imprisoning working class militants who are struggling for democratic liberties and socialism. As socialists, we give our support to such struggles and recognise that real peace can only be achieved in the world when the working class follows the example of the Russian revolution and overthrows the capitalist system in all countries.

But it is from this standpoint

that it becomes an urgent duty for socialists to oppose the suppression of working-class democracy and national rights in the Soviet Union. One Ukrainian socialist has said: "I cannot imagine true socialism without democratic freedoms; without the widest political and economic self-government, of all cells of the state organism down to and including the smallest;

without a real guarantee — and not a merely paper one — of the rights of all nations within a multinational state."

The man who wrote these words, Vyacheslav Chornovil, is at present in prison. Born in 1938, he became a journalist after being Komsomol Secretary on the construction site of the Kiev Hydro-Electric Station. He then served on the editorial staffs of the papers "Young Guard" and "Reader's Friend" and worked for Radio Kiev. In 1966, he refused to testify at the trial of the oppositionists in Lvov. Arrested in 1967, he was sentenced to three years imprisonment, later commuted to 18

months. In 1972, he was re-arrested and is still in jail.

Chornovil compiled the Chornovil Papers — a collection of documents exposing the illegal methods employed by the authorities in secret trials and the terroristic behaviour of the KGB (secret police) during arrests and interrogations.

In spite of the repression from which he has suffered, Chornovil has always declared his belief in socialism. In his own words: "I categorically state, contrary to all illogical assertions... that I have always adhered to the principles of socialism and continue to do so."

We must also take up the case of Ivan Dzyuba, another Ukrainian political prisoner. Born in 1931 into a peasant family, Dzyuba became a writer and literary critic. In 1965, with Chornovil and others, he staged a protest against the mass arrests made that year. For many years a member of the editorial board of "Vitchyzna", official organ of the Ukrainian Writers Union, he was himself arrested, then, later released. In

1972, he was re-arrested and expelled from the Writers Union. Earlier this year, he was sentenced to five years imprisonment and a further five years in exile. Dzyuba is dying of tuberculosis and is expected to live for no more than a year. He has petitioned the authorities with a request to be able to die at liberty. This request has been turned down.

Dzyuba is the author of "Internationalism or Russification?", a Marxist critique of current Soviet nationalities policy. In criticizing the government, Dzyuba called for the propagation of the "ideas of Marxism-Leninism and world communism which are now concealed, evaded or falsified..."

It is not necessary to support every word that Chornovil and Dzyuba have written in order to support their right to express their views. It is precisely because there is room in the socialist and working class movement for different opinions that we oppose the repression directed against them.

We ask you to do the fol-

lowing:

- 1) Raise the cases of Dzyuba, Chornovil and other political prisoners at the Moscow Peace Congress.
- 2) Raise the matter in your trade union, shop stewards committee or trades council.
- 3) Sign and circulate the petition, part of an international campaign, protesting against the imprisonment of Dzyuba and Chornovil and calling for full democratic liberties in the USSR.
- 4) Support the Committee to Defend Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil. Offers of practical help are urgently needed.

A conference which claims to be dedicated to the struggle for world peace and against the repression of socialists and democrats which would not take up the repression of socialists like Chornovil and Dzyuba would be nothing but an expensive farce.

Fraternally yours,

The Committee to Defend
Ivan Dzyuba and
Vyacheslav Chornovil

СТУДЕНТ

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До редакції А до числа співпрацівників входять:

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Our new address is "Student", 394 Bloor St. West, Toronto, Ontario. Phone no. 967-0640.



Другий Світовий Конгрес Вільних Українців, який відбувся від 1—4 листопада в Торонті, проходив під гаслом закріплення солідарності української спільноти. У цьому нічному новому, бо вже на першому Конгресі (за словами А. Фіголя) "відчувався сильний тиск громадської думки: "коли ж нарешті діждемося об'єднання в церковній і політичній сферах?"

Отож, Конгрес розпочався тріумфальним проголошенням об'єднання українських православних церков. Консолідація виявилася теж і на політичному відтинку: пп. Лівницький і Стецько, які незадовго до Конгресу опублікували спільну заяву про становище в Україні, виступили на Конгресовій Маніфестації із закликом до революційної боротьби за повалення московської імперії.

Могло здаватися, що ці події — це вияви загального руху за інтеграцію сил, але на виборах Президії Секретаріату стала очевидною слабкість цієї "стихії". На Президію прийшлося голосувати аж три рази, головню через те, що партійно-політична опозиція проти п. Миколи Плав'юка не хотіла допустити до його вибору на пост президента СКВУ. І опозиція добила того, що президентом обрано 80-літнього о. Василя Кушніра, почесного голову КУК. П. Плав'юка обрано першим заступником президента.

Задемонстровано, отже, що політиканство і партійна ворожнеча залишаються вирішальними чинниками в українському емігрантському житті. Але є обставина, яка робить цей стан не тільки жалюгідним, але й критичним. Маємо на увазі те, що майже всі чільні особи, яких ми досі називали (як також багато інших громадських діячів, присутніх на Конгресі) — це люди на схилі віку. І на цьому Конгресі, як мабуть ніколи досі, виявилася убогість спадщини, яку залишають українській громаді. Конгрес не виніс ні одної постанови щодо збереження українського життя на еміграції, а обмежився до ритуальних засуджень мішаних подруж і асиміляції. Замість політичної програми була агітація за війну проти Москви — заклик, який не тільки дивував своєю неактуальністю, але перечив поглядам годовиного промовця на Маніфестації (до речі, теж немолодого) дост. Джона Діфенбейкера. Дві конкретні пропозиції, що їх подано на Конгресі — створити пресо-інформаційне бюро і представництво при ООН для оборони людських прав — стосуються більше України, ніж еміграції; доля тих пропозицій залежатиме від рішень Секретаріату.

У своєму конгресовому звіті, представники молоді виступили проти нагледу "батьків народу". Це вимагало певної відваги — але цього замало. Молодь незабаром перейме громадське життя в свої руки і відповідатиме за унаправлення його. Вказівок від старших немає, а молоді — принаймні на Конгресі — не виявила оригінальних ініціатив. І треба б над тим заставитися, а не потішати себе мовляв, "друге наша суспільність здала іспит політичної (чи культурної, чи громадської) зрілості".



Dear Editor,

I would like to offer my understanding of the reasons why two unscheduled speakers decided to take up 45 minutes of the public's time at the Maple Leaf Gardens Rally of the Ukrainian World Congress on Nov. 4, 1973. Mr. Stetsko and Mr. Livytskyj, the two speakers in question, are the top officials of the two respective ideological organizations - O.U.N. and U.N.Rada.

At the Rally both men were asked to give brief greetings to the Congress from their respective organizations. This was a deference to the power that these men hold in the emigre sections of our community, a deference to a power that at first sight had no place in this Congress. The program and promotion materials did not contain a hint of ideology - the Congress was concerned solely with community development in the diaspora and intervention in world forums on behalf of the violated human and national rights of our people in USSR. And in fact the Congress organizers managed to keep the ideologues in the background until then.

Mr. Stetsko and Mr. Livytskyj finally got their chance to blow out their positions and analysis at an audience of 12,000 Ukrainians, many only English-speaking, assembled for a Sunday afternoon ecumenical service, a concert of the best ensembles available and two keynote addresses to the stated Congress concerns. The interjection of Mr. Stetsko and Mr. Livytskyj broke the feeling welling up in me, and I believe, in much of the audience, that there is a unity of purpose in Ukrainian society which completely transcends the ideological, generational, religious and geographical orientations which at once stress and enrich the community. Messrs. Livytskyj and Stetsko preferred to emphasize the differences in the community and argue that unity is possible only through unification under their banners.

Both men recently achieved the actual unification of their independent groups into one by kicking out those elements in their respective groups not acceptable to the other. Then they came to the rally to crow about their unification. They turned attention away from the unity of purpose that was forming and manifesting itself spontaneously in the Gardens through the action and interaction of the audience and those on the stage performing or speaking and attempted to substitute therefor a unity brewed from despair, purges and rejection. They relegate Ukrainstvo to a position secondary to an ideology that was largely developed and fired in the crucible of chaos, guerilla warfare, hunger and offensives by German, Russian and Ukrainian armies that dominated Ukraine in the 30's, 40's and early 50's. Their ideologies were necessary to the struggle that the Ukrainian people were forced into at that time. Our scholars and teachers should interpret those ideologies and struggle for us so that we can assimilate those historic times into our Ukrainian souls. But it is a mistake to let those ideologies and discipline determine our course in a North America where danger lies not in firing squads and camps but in overeating and assimilation.

A Ukrainian revival is needed to rescue Canadian Ukrainians from the abyss of anonymity, rejection, assimilation and lack of Ukrainian knowledge. But it will not be readily forthcoming from the welter of confusions, rivalries and hostilities among the ideologically oriented community organizations that control so much of our community youth development and education work.

In spite of all the problems the Canadian Ukrainian community is moving to an adulthood of confidence in dealing with the Canadian environment. The community and the Canadian scene are adjusting to each other. The next few years will see the total eclipse of those tenacious Ukrainians taught by a violent history which gave them the determination and the energy to survive and develop as Ukrainians in new lands. Sadly, their understanding of the novel dangers facing Ukrainstvo is far from complete. They gave much and will still contribute but in so many ways they are anachronistic to the challenges and dangers of today. We can only hope that we will have the same energy and determination in moving along our path as they did on theirs.

30.11.73

Wally Petryshyn

Dear Editor,

Kindly permit me to share a few impressions I received at the symposium entitled "25 Years of Human Rights in the USSR" held on campus at the University of Toronto in conjunction with the Second World Congress of Free Ukrainians. The panel consisted of Peter Reddaway (the growth and character of the dissent movement since World War II), Thomas Byrd (dissent from religious groups under persecution) and Bohdan Bociurkiw (treatment of nationalities and ethnic minorities). The moderator was Walter Tarnopolsky, who opened with some comments about the legal status of human rights in the world.

This group of experts, however, ignored dissent which fell outside this framework. The question of workers' strikes in Kiev and Dneprodzerzhinsk did not serve as a starting point for a discussion of the social aspects of dissent, but rather after expressing doubt as to the authenticity of some of these reports, the panel made some superficial comments as to the complexity of the problem. Three possible explanations come to mind.

First, the panelists were unable to comment because they were unaware of such riots, strikes, etc. I rule out this possibility immediately. These people have access to the best of resources and information.

Second, they have the information but fail to treat it because of their personal, social or political biases. How can one protest in the name of humanity when a poet is jailed for his writings but ignore the fate of workers incarcerated for striking? Is it because the intellectual displays sensitivity to the human condition in his poems while the worker displays only a ticket reading "All power to the Soviets"? How can people pretend to criticize censorship and propaganda and in the same breath misrepresent the plight of the victims of such practices?

Third, they have the information, understand the problem, but compromise their position for the sake of the audience. It might come as quite a shock to some members of the audience to learn that their organization, in fact, is not in control of the dissent movement in the Ukraine. Even so, I have no respect for an academic who would engage in half-truths to please his audience.

One can only speculate as to their real reasons. The effect speaks for itself.

4.12.73

D. A. Sadoway

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Broadcasting, Films and Assistance to the Arts

Tuesday, November 6, 1973

Mr. Yewchuk: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to ask Mr. Picard why the program was stopped.

Mr. L. Sinclair (Executive Vice-President, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation): I would like, first, to echo Mr. Muir. I was saying that I do not have much Gaelic left, and that is true, that is about the end of it. That is about the end of the Gaelic I have and I think it is a notch or two more than a few other people have. But the program has not been stopped.

Mr. Yewchuk: It has been extended for a year, which is the same thing, is it not?

Mr. Sinclair: Not at all, no. The only thing that I suggested—and I am sorry that it seemed arrogant, I thought I was being very diffident about it—was that we should phase out the spoken Gaelic in a program that is an hour long. It has music and singing, I cannot sing but I used to play the pipes and it has piping and things of this kind. I do not want to get into a competition about how Scottish we all are, you know, because we are all very Scottish.

The part that is being phased out is the spoken Gaelic, over a year. I do not think the program is on at the moment. It is going to stay as far as I am concerned; I think it is a good program. It is the kind of program we should be doing. I think the distinction we are trying to make is between multiculturalism on the one hand and multilingualism on the other. We do not intend to take this or any other program of that kind off. On the contrary, I think we should be encouraging it and showing that it is in the corporate objectives and in the divisional objectives. In other words, we are going to have to increase continually the sense of multiculturalism in my country. So that is the situation.

Mr. Yewchuk: Would you please outline specifically your reasons for wanting to phase out the use of the spoken languages as opposed to the sung language?

Mr. Sinclair: I think there is a distinction between speaking and singing. I happen to be very fond of music and perhaps you are too, Mr. Yewchuk. I am very fond of Italian opera, for example, and Italian is not a language I know particularly well. Most people who go to hear Rigoletto being sung in Italian do not really understand what is going on, but that is very different from attending a performance of an Italian play. It is the music that is carrying the thing under those circumstances. The spoken language I think is something else. I am trying, I think we are all trying, to be fair and, as Mr. Picard has said, not initiate a new policy.

We have been following two things: the mandate of the corporation, and the way in which that mandate has been interpreted over many years, an interpretation which has received the approval, either tacit or direct, of various commissions and of this Committee itself. The Broadcasting Committee has continually brought it up for review and it has continually been there. As Mr. Picard has pointed out, we are certainly flexible. If Parliament wishes us to change we will certainly change and we will present the bill to Parliament showing what it would cost, because I think it would cost a fair amount.

An hon. Member: One hundred and fifty dollars a week.

Mr. Yewchuk: How long was the Gaelic language used on this program, as a spoken language, prior to its being stopped?

Mr. Sinclair: I do not know.

Mr. Yewchuk: Maybe Mr. Picard would know.

Mr. Picard: No.

Mr. Sinclair: There is very little of it.

It is about 4 per cent or 6 per cent, something of this kind. There is not very much of it.

Mr. Yewchuk: I think it was three years, according to Mr. Muir. There is an article in the Official Languages Act, I think it is Section 28, that states that nothing is to be done which detracts or takes away established or customary rights of any other language groups than the official language groups. Could you tell me what your interpretation is of how long something would have to go on before it becomes an established or customary right?

Mr. Picard: That is a difficult question to answer. It is not necessarily a question of time, it is also a question of the extent of the operation, and the possible alternative. I have no set answer to that. If the station in Nova Scotia had been mostly Gaelic for many years we might call that a right. It is a very difficult question to answer, what is a right or not, and again we are flexible in the interpretation.

Taking Gaelic as an example, we felt that it was very difficult to reject or not to accept demands for Italian and other languages and let the Gaelic language be used. It is a question of fairness also among the different . . .

Mr. Yewchuk: Then I understand from your comments that there has been a change in policy and that when the Gaelic program was started in 1970 the policy of CBC was that this was acceptable and now three years

later . . .

Mr. Sinclair: May I be blunt about it? We are not nearly as monolithic as we look. Frankly, I do not think we knew it was going on. It is as easy as that.

Mr. Muir: But when you found out?

An hon. Member: Have you ever heard the program, Mr. Sinclair?

Mr. Sinclair: Yes. I think it is good. The people who wrote the letters do not seem to have heard it because they are complaining we have taken it off and it is still on.

Mr. Picard: Messieurs, let me say something which I think I have said before in this Committee, and which I think is very important. If we look back at the two problems we had with that subject in the last year, we have tried to extend the rights, contrary to our policy, for a year with the hope that a clearer definition will be made in the meantime. If you remember the discussion that took place about Winnipeg, and the same is true about the Gaelic, there is enough time for Parliament to indicate a direction that we will follow because there is a year. We did not say tomorrow it is over, we said a year. I do not want to judge the time it takes to indicate a direction, but there is a full year to discuss this question and come up with direction.

Mr. Yewchuk: Mr. Chairman, I might be misinterpreting what the representatives of the CBC are saying, but on the one hand in your opening remarks, Mr. Picard, you indicated that the Broadcasting Act specifies the use of English and French but does not exclude the use of other languages.

Mr. Picard: Right.

Mr. Yewchuk: But at the same time you kept referring to your mandate as being English and French.

Mr. Picard: Yes, but . . .

Mr. Yewchuk: If I could just finish my question, you have also indicated in the past that prior to any change in your policy or establishment of policy you want to have a clear indication from some source and I interpreted that to mean from the government, Secretary of State or possibly Parliament.

Mr. Sinclair: Parliament.

Mr. Picard: Parliament.

Mr. Yewchuk: In addition to my previous question I want to ask you whether you received some kind of directive from government or any minister with regard to the use of these three languages prior to releasing your policy paper of two or three months ago?

Mr. Picard: No, and I have said before that even though we interpret the role of the Secretary of State as being the person through which we report to Parliament, any minister or any MP or any group of persons can help us interpret the mandate, but the direction for the corporation should come from Parliament; not from the Secretary of State nor the government, but from Parliament.

We had a number of discussions—I do not remember all of them—some of them here, publicly indicating preference of some people in one direction or the other. But it is Parliament as such that can direct the corporation. It is not the government nor the Secretary of State.

Mr. Yewchuk: Your mandate then is simply your own interpretation of the Broadcasting Act. Is that correct?

Mr. Picard: It is our own interpretation again based on 10 years of tradition or 15 years of tradition. But it is our interpretation, right.

Mr. Sinclair: And as confirmed by appearing before many broadcasting committees. You know, this particular aspect of the mandate has certainly been confirmed over many years.

You say it is English and French and does not exclude the others, but I am sure you know, Mr. Yewchuk, that English and French are the languages mentioned, it does not mention third languages nor does it have any clause which calls attention to the fact that third languages are not being excluded. It just says English and French and stops there. There is silence after that.

Mr. Yewchuk: One brief question, before I wind up, with regard to the use of Eskimo and Indian languages in the North. What is the rationale behind that exception?

Mr. Picard: I suppose there is a double rationale. You know that Parliament has been interested in that question for many years, and that the use of the satellite and the creation of Telesat has crystallized a number of problems around the service of the North. It has been, again, a historical interpretation of the mandate supported by the Commission and broadcasting committee that we should serve the Eskimos and Indians in their native language.

I suppose the rationale could be twofold. One, there is very little significance to broadcasting in the North unless you reach the people who form the basic stable population of the North and these are Indians and Eskimos. Second is the native language. Is it right that Parliament—I am not very skillful in the interpretation of all this legislation—but is it an interpretation that Parliament recognizes specific rights of the native popu-

lation there? It might be that, but it has always been traditionally an interpretation of the CBC role that it should serve Indians and Eskimos in their language, partly in their language.

Thursday, November 8, 1973

Mr. Yewchuk: I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, for taking so long but Mr. Picard indicated a moment ago that he does not think you can really keep a culture viable, alive and flourishing without the use of the language, particularly with reference to the French culture. That is what the question was about.

Mr. Picard: I said that it will be tough.

Mr. Yewchuk: All right.

We have, in Section 3 of the Broadcasting Act, an area where it indicates that one of the functions of the CBC is to safeguard, to enrich and to strengthen the cultural fabric of Canada. It seems to me that if you believe you cannot maintain the culture adequately without the language, then one of your roles must be to strengthen the cultural fabric—not just maintain it but strengthen it. How can you do that and yet ban these languages, in the context of a multicultural policy?

Mr. Picard: We have a multicultural program that helps to sustain and manifest to others the culture of different groups in the Canadian society. That is how we intend to do it. I can understand your preoccupation, Mr. Yewchuk, but what we are really asking for is clarification about that. We have to look at the definition of a bilingual framework, the Official Languages Act, and this is our interpretation. If Parliament comes up and says, "That is a wrong interpretation", fine. We will change it.

Mr. Yewchuk: What would you interpret to be a directive from Parliament? Mr. Coates has already read to you quotes from Hansard indicating what the directive from Parliament is. What else do you want?

Mr. Picard: I do not know whether that is down in Hansard. I would like to review that. However, it has been stated very often that the policy was a multicultural policy inside a bilingual framework. That has been stated very often. Again, we are open to clarification.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Yewchuk.

Mr. Haliburton

• 1115

Mr. Haliburton: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Picard, I think I want to say at the outset that I am a fan of the CBC. It is the radio station that I normally listen to if I have any choice. Unfortunately, in the area that I represent, there is not too much choice. A great many of my constituents who would like to listen to CBC do not have the opportunity to do so.

That is my chief criticism of your system, followed very quickly by a second criticism that those of my constituents who do have a choice, the choice of listening to a CBC system station, do not have the opportunity to listen to a CBC station that is based in Nova Scotia, which is our province, which is, of course, the provincial news and the provincial coverage that we want to receive. I hope that something is going to be done about that and I am sure from correspondence I have had that it is under consideration. However, the questions I want to ask you are perhaps a little more mundane and I hope a little easier for you to answer than some of those posed by my more learned associates.

You have mentioned many, many times in the last two sessions your mandate, or your national mandate. I am new to this Committee and I would like to know what the source of your mandate is. Is it simply the Broadcasting Act or do you take your mandate from some other document or is your mandate something else?

Mr. Picard: The mandate basically is the Broadcasting Act. It is set in the Broadcasting Act.

Mr. Haliburton: I take it that whatever Parliament may say in a gratuitous manner as recorded in Hansard or whatever directives you may get from the Minister of Communications, Secretary of State, or what not, that you would still consider yourself bound by the Broadcasting Act rather than by any such manifestations of the views of the House of Commons?

Mr. Picard: I would like to make two points on that. The first is that we do not receive directives from the Department of Communications or the Secretary of State. There are two points. There is a mandate which is set, which is defined and acted on by the Commons, first . . .

Mr. Haliburton: And which I state again is the Broadcasting Act.

Mr. Picard: . . . and that is the Broadcasting Act. Now obviously any act in a time of change such as we are seeing now—I am giving now my personal interpretation, and I may wrong there as I am giving my personal interpretation—in a time when things are changing very fast, and they are, and expectations of people are changing fast, and technology is changing fast, I would be inclined to say that this is a mandate of the Corporation as set by the act, but if Parliament were to say we think something should be changed and enlarged that mandate and it is the view of Parliament that I do not know exactly how it could be expressed—but it is the view of Parliament that the mandate on that question is too limited and has to be enlarged, and that appears as a clear statement on their part, we will consider that maybe our future mandate should be to try to adjust to that.

Basically, however, a mandate for CBC it is like for anybody else and this is very important; the interpretation of a bill or a law of Parliament or the law of the land is a

One hundred thousand welcomes!



Canada.

Mr. Nowlan: It was 65,000 in the 1961-62 census.

Mr. Picard: Oh, it is much higher than that. But that is not a language definition. Gaelic is. Italian is a language definition; Jewish is not. There are some people coming from Eastern Europe, there are some coming from Western Europe, which means they are a part of other languages represented in Canada. There also are some coming from greater or smaller minority groups, the Middle East for instance, and India. So you must look at its complexity. Again, we have no firm data on that because the statistics—again, this is not criticism of the way statistics are taken—are taken in a way which sometimes defines the language in the case of a group which are well identified in terms of language and, at other times, defines a group, like the Jewish people, which is not related to a language as such. In Toronto, for instance, and this might be cut by 25 or 50 per cent, they have something like 40 languages there.

Mr. Haliburton: Mr. Picard, perhaps what I wanted was the technical complexity, as a matter of satisfying your listeners that you are broadcasting in their language and it has nothing to do with any technical problems that the broadcast station might have in broadcasting in that language.

Mr. Picard: Not in the sense of the technology itself, but in the sense of the complexity of arranging programming, you are right. That was a bad word for me to use. A better word would have been programming.

Mr. Haliburton: Will it make any difference, in the cost of operating "Island Echoes", whether it is broadcast in Gaelic or in English?

Mr. Picard: Basically, to take an example like that, no. Perhaps, in accordance with what Mr. Muir has said, it might cost less with Gaelic people.

Mr. Haliburton: If it were your mandate then to broadcast in other languages, would it increase the costs of the corporation any significant amount to have similar one-hour programs in areas where there is a significant ethnic population—phone-in, disc-jockey, or just conversation programs?

Mr. Picard: There was one of that type in Nova Scotia on radio, but I do not see a tremendous increase in cost. Sure, there will be added costs and all that, but I do not see a significant increase.

Mr. Haliburton: It might mean changing announcers or something like that.

Mr. Picard: It might mean that, or it might mean developing a relationship with the community. This is a complex thing, as you know, and it has been stated by others that these groups are not necessarily homogeneous in their desire and all that. But to talk about radio and so on, it will not be what I would call a significant increase.

Mr. Fraser: Mr. Chairman, if I may interrupt just for a moment, you may wish to discuss this with the CRTC because they have regulations with respect to other language broadcasting. I note that one of their key ones is that the station which holds the licence must have control over all the programming and advertising. So you would have to set up a staff which would be able to see that everything was done properly in accordance with the regulations and was of the type of thing. The CRTC also requires that broadcasting in these languages will help integrate the group into the total Canadian society, and also that there is sufficient population of the ethnic group to warrant such broadcasting. I just mentioned these as some things you may wish to

take up with the CRTC.

Mr. Haliburton: There are some things we may want to change for the CRTC, too.

Mr. Fraser: Yes.

Mr. Sinclair: May I make a comment?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Sinclair: There are two other things. We have spoken of the *Island Echoes* program; it is an entertainment program. Surely we do not always see multiculturalism just as an entertainment thing. We are trying to see it as a public concern, public affairs; it is that kind of program which in our view is far more important as a multicultural thing. If that is extended into multilingualism, as Mr. Fraser suggested, we would have to set up a structure within each station of the corporation to make sure that we did have the proper regard to program content. Under those circumstances the multilingual programs would be discussing substantive issues. I think they should be; I think there is no question about that.

Furthermore, we have discussed radio all the time and it seems to me that if we are going to be required to do multilingual broadcasting then multilingual broadcasting means television and that is where the expense really comes in and the problem really arises. To broadcast in a third language opens one door and closes many others. I would like to say once more in line with what the President said that if we are required to do it we will do it and there is no question about that. We would be required perhaps to do Italian programming in the Toronto region, Ukrainian programming in the Winnipeg region, and so on. It should be on television and it would be a quite elaborate infrastructure in each of these regions. Furthermore, they are not really usable across the network. Multiculturalism in English and French, yes, they are usable and I think eminently desirable.

It is in our corporate objectives, it is in the objectives of the English and French divisions; we are pressing constantly to get more and more broadcasting of a multicultural kind across the network. This would not be possible, I think, it would not be useful, it would not be valuable if we were doing multilingual programming although it would be perhaps very valuable in certain areas.

The question that we are asking Parliament to address itself to very seriously is, "Is this necessarily our role, the role of the CBC within the system?" Mr. Yewchuk, I am not trying to put you on the spot but could you recall the exact phrase about language at the very beginning of the Broadcasting Act, the English and French phrase?

Mr. Yewchuk: Section 3(g) (iii) says that—I presume it refers to broadcasting:

be in English and French, serving the special needs of geographic regions, and actively contributing to the flow and exchange of cultural...

Mr. Sinclair: And it does actually say that in the law of the land.

Mr. Yewchuk: It specifies English and French.

Mr. Sinclair: Yes. And it says "in English and French, serving the special regions". That certainly is specific; it does say that in the law of the land and there would be problems and expenses to do something else. To sum up, I say they would arise in information programs on the one hand, in public affairs and so on, and in television on the other.

Mr. Picard: But surely, if Parliament were to say that we should do that, it would then be a question of costs too.

Mr. Sinclair: We would present the bill.

The Chairman: Mr. Haliburton, I am sorry, we are running out of time.

Mr. Haliburton: Yes.

The Chairman: We have come to the end of our time, except that Mr. Muir would like to wrap it up. In deference to him as having brought this whole thing before us, I think we should allow him to do so.

Mr. Nowlan: Before Mr. Muir starts, and supplementary to that, I appreciate that the law of the land says that mandatorily it shall be in English and French. But to go back to the flexibility that the corporation has, there is no law, regulation or order in council that proscribes the use of a third language.

Mr. Haliburton: I just pointed out to Mr. Picard that last spring in answer to a question from Mr. Yewchuk he said that the act was not preventing him from doing it.

Mr. Picard: No, I agree to that.

Mr. Haliburton: It is permissive.

Mr. Picard: It states what we should do but does not prevent us from doing that.

Mr. Haliburton: May I make an observation, Mr. Chairman, about what Mr. Sinclair said? Clearly there is one objective in multiculturalism and that is to portray the view of multiculturalism across the country. However, there is another aspect to it and that is to cater to a local cultural group. Surely, there is room for that in local programming time on CBC network stations.

The Chairman: Mr. Muir.

Mr. Muir: Mr. Chairman, I was going to ask Mr. Picard this question: How can any group in this country retain its culture if its language is banned? But Mr. Yewchuk asked that and I was pleased to hear the reply by the president.

As one who has spent quite a number of years here and who has argued for French-language broadcasting and television in my own particular area, and as one who voted for the bilingual bill, and as one who supported the subsequent resolution, I would like you to know, sir, that I resent anyone's raising the point here, as Mr. Herbert did, that when someone mentions some other language they are immediately against French-speaking people.

GAELIC PROGRAMME

The weekly one-hour show, *Island Echoes*, costs \$150, less than \$8,000 a year, a tiny fraction of the CBC's \$267-million budget. Mr. Muir (PC, Cape Breton — The Sydneys) told the Commons broadcasting committee that it cost more than one programme to send Mr. Sinclair out to Cape Breton to order the programme cut.

"We, as Scots," he said, referring to Mr. Sinclair's heritage, "have to put up with the perfidy of one of our own." For the CBC to restrict Gaelic broadcasting and continue its live Indian and Eskimo programming is nonsense, he said.

"Any way you want to look at it, Gaelic is a national language."

Mr. Sinclair said that, if asked by Parliament, the CBC will be prepared to amend its policy.

difficult thing. It is not easy, and we have seen through the discussion today that there might be many opinions about that. But basically the mandate is the law of the land, and only if there is very clear indication that this law is not sufficient any more, that there is a desire on the part of Parliament to change it and enlarge it, then will we try to address ourselves to that. I can see that happening very well in a time of change and expectation and all that. But the mandate is the law of the land. You can question us on the way we interpret it, that is true, but you cannot question us on "Do you follow the mandate or not?" That is the law of the land.

Mr. Haliburton: Okay. Well now before we change the Broadcasting Act perhaps we should know exactly what you were referring to. You also have mentioned several times, both today and the other day, that in putting into place any kind of programming such as is being suggested to you by this Committee, there would be serious technological problems or technical complexities, you called it today, and cost factors to be considered. Could you outline briefly for me what you foresee first as the technical difficulties, and second, as the cost factors?

Mr. Picard: Yes. On the costs, you know, I can just illustrate the broadness of the problem and its complexity and what impact it will have directly on costs I do not know. The first question I think can be answered more directly. It is the question of the complexity of handling that. The question of complexity I think has been well illustrated by Mr. Muir in his statement that the Gaelic language was the 22nd language or something like that; there are 21 languages ahead of it. I am not talking about the Gaelic group more than any other. And I recognize very well what Mr. Yewchuk has said about his mandate. You know, there is a large group, and even the census does not really explore the situation in detail. Let me give you an example. There are about 500,000 Jewish people in

Emerging opposition currents in the USSR

By Ted Harding

The National Movements

The various movements of the oppressed nationalities are the only significant oppositional current to date to have involved both workers and dissident intellectuals in the same organizations. For example, it was in helping to organize the Crimean Tatars, exiled *en masse* from their homeland by Stalin, that Grigorenko and his group of civil rights activists achieved something like a mass following. In order to understand the national movements, it is essential to grasp some of the main features of the national question as it is posed in the Soviet Union today.

The early Bolshevik nationalities policy encouraged the development of the national languages and cultures in an effort to raise the educational and cultural level of the non-Russian masses who had been oppressed by the Tsarist regime. It was also part of a policy to ensure that the non-Russian masses could participate in and control the administrative apparatus in their republics—an apparatus which under Tsarism had been totally in the hands of the Russian colonizers. Such a policy was obviously not to the liking of the former Tsarist officials, and this stratum of the colonizing petty-bourgeoisie was subsequently to flock to the banner of Stalinist reaction. The essence of the Leninist nationalities policy, expressed by a Communist at the Twelfth Party Congress, was that "It is better to force ten Great Russian chauvinists and nationalists to learn the language of the country in which they live than to force one peasant to torture his native language in a government office." For the Stalinists, it was better to force ten peasants to torture their native language than to disturb one Great Russian bureaucrat.

Today, in most of the non-Russian republics, the linguistic division coincides with the social division. Ivan Dzyuba, a Ukrainian oppositionist, writes: "... here the national question again develops into a social one: We see that in city life [in the Ukraine] the Ukrainian language is in a certain sense opposed as the language of the 'lower' strata of the population—caretakers, maids, unskilled labourers, newly hired workers, rank-and-file workers, especially in the suburbs—to the Russian language as the language of the 'higher,' 'more educated' strata of society—'captains of industry,' clerks, and the intelligentsia. And it is not possible to 'brush aside' this social rift. The language barrier aggravates and exacerbates social divisions." He concludes, "It is wrong to oppose social problems to national problems on the pretext that the former are more important and immediate. National problems are always social problems as well, problems of political class strategy." (*Internationalism or Russification?*, London, 1970, pp. 135-6, 193.)

The national movements in the Soviet Union vary considerably, involving nations at different stages of development, with radically different historical pasts. I will here examine only the political currents within the Ukraine—the largest non-Russian republic, with a population of over 40 million, a highly developed industry, and a territory larger than France. These can be divided broadly into Marxist and nationalist.



The Marxist current in the Ukrainian movement is best exemplified by Dzyuba, by Vyacheslav Chornovil, and by an organization which emerged in the early sixties called the Union of Workers and Peasants. This current attacks Great Russian chauvinism in the name of internationalism, and argues for a return to Leninism. It is also the grouping which has best understood the social consequences of Russification policies for the working class, and that the bureaucracy's nationalities policy is part and parcel of a more general reactionary socio-economic policy. Chornovil, recently arrested, expressed the collective positions of this group when he wrote: "I categorically state, contrary to all illogical assertions... that I have always firmly adhered to the principles of socialism and continue to do so... I cannot imagine true socialism without democratic freedoms; without the widest political and economic self-government of all the cells of the state organism down to and including the smallest; without a real guarantee—and not merely a paper one—of the rights of all nations within a multinational state." (*International Socialist Review*, September 1972, pp. 41-2.)

The Marxist current has, however, been divided on how to achieve this aim. Dzyuba, Chornovil, and others tended to act as individuals, and not as an organized group. Moreover, they insisted on the employment only of peaceful, constitutional means of expression: petitions, open letters, public protests. But last year the KGB carried out mass arrests among this grouping, and there is every indication that there is now serious rethinking of strategies on their part.

The Union of Workers and Peasants took a different approach. They understood the organizational tasks facing the opposition, and set about building a socialist party with a programme and with the intention of carrying out revolutionary propaganda. Although the platform of this group never reached the West, we have a general idea of its contents from the writings of L. Lukyanenko, a former Communist party ideological worker and founder of the group. He wrote:

"As a result of studying Soviet reality, in 1960 I came to revise the earlier draft programme and began to think that it was not the independence of the Ukrainian SSR that was essential for improving the life of the people, but the liquidation of bureaucratism." The Union's programme included a call to end the "curtailment of the rights of the trade unions, whose leaders had become the best tools of the managers in violating socialist legality," liquidation of "bureaucratic methods of administering the national economy," "full democratization of the soviets of workers deputies," and a radical improvement in the lot of the peasantry. (*International Socialist Review*, September 1972, pp. 41-2.) Lukyanenko was sentenced to death. After much protest, the death penalty was commuted to fifteen years imprisonment.

Within the Ukraine there is also a straightforwardly nationalist movement. This is strongest in the western regions. It is not "bourgeois" nationalist, as it does not question the property relations established by the October Revolution. But it is nationalist in that it counterposes Ukrainian nationalism to Russian nationalism. Some nationalists, patterning themselves after the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, a partisan group which fought both the Germans and the Red Army, organized conspiratorial parties using clandestine methods of struggle, including terrorism. One such organization was the Ukrainian National Committee, composed of forty Lvov industrial workers. Two of its members were executed for allegedly planning terrorist attacks.

Russian Dissident Intellectuals

The oppositional current that has attracted the most attention in the West

is that of the Russian dissident intelligentsia. The real preface to their dissent was written in 1956 by Khrushchev, when he gave his "secret speech" exposing Stalin. Khrushchev's revelations were part of an attempt to restore a sense of confidence in the bureaucracy. As part of

this new course, the Khrushchev party leadership permitted two short periods of relaxed controls over political and cultural life in the Soviet Union. It was during this period that the first of the post-Stalin Russian intellectual oppositions arose: the so-called cultural opposition. The cultural opposition was a movement of writers, artists, and poets who passed for a "thaw" in the intellectual environment. This opposition did not question the bureaucracy as such, nor did it really raise in a clear way fundamental questions of democratic rights. The cultural opposition set out to liberate the creative process. It demanded the right of the artist to render reality in genuinely realistic terms; it fought the total banality of official Soviet culture.

Although the debates of that period may have centred on such seemingly innocuous grounds as the "need for greater sincerity in literature," it became abundantly clear that to grant the writers and poets a freedom of criticism not enjoyed by citizens, and above all by workers, "was to make artistic creation an inevitable instrument of social criticism." (*The Development and Disintegration of World Stalinism*, SWP International Bulletin, New York, 1970. By 1965 the bureaucracy was cracking furiously on its concession to the intellectuals. It reimposed strict censorship, and began to arrest these writers who still insisted on "sincerity in literature." The trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel, two writers who perhaps more than anyone else had come to symbolize the values of the new cultural opposition, ended the period of that opposition and gave birth to the "Democratic Movement"—an association of individuals and groups who struggle for democratic rights.

The brutal treatment of Sinyavsky and Daniel, and the arrests of other writers, shocked the dissident intel-

actuals into a realization that artistic freedom without fundamental political freedom was unthinkable. It was not, however, until 1968, beginning with protests around the trial of Glasburg and Galanskov, that the Democratic

Movement really surfaced. And with the Democratic Movement arrived samizdat (literally, "self-published")—the written material increasingly circulated in the Russian underground.

The Democratic Movement's campaign for civil rights is understood by the activists of that movement to mean the democratization of Soviet society. The most frequent demands of this movement are: an end to the arbitrary arrests of individuals by the secret police, strict adherence to the Soviet constitution, an end to press censorship, and the rehabilitation of all former concentration camp inmates. This movement also organized demonstrations against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. And one of its members, Galanskov (who recently died under mysterious circumstances in a concentration camp), marched against the American Embassy in Moscow to protest the invasion of the Dominican Republic.

Politically, the Democratic Movement is diverse. It ranges from Leninists like Grigorenko to liberals like Sakharov. These diverse tendencies do, however, take a common stand on the Soviet constitution, and they stress the importance of law as a mechanism for securing civil rights. But what divides the Democratic Movement is how to achieve a return to socialist legality.

The liberals, usually well-placed figures in the Soviet academic establishment, try to convince the bureaucracy that, in the interests of its own preservation, it must introduce a measure of civil rights. As moderate men, the liberals want democratization, but "without causing undue commotion and mass disturbances." (*Intercontinental Press*, December 4, 1972, p. 1354.) If faced with the choice between the two, they would no doubt beat a hasty retreat into the bosom of the bureaucracy.

But within the Democratic Movement there are also "radical democratizers." (Ibid.) The Soviet dissidents best known to the West come from this circle: Yakir, Bukovsky, Yakhimovich, Grigorenko, Litvinov, and others. Mobilizing public opinion independently of the bureaucracy, publicizing violations of civil rights with courage and self-sacrifice, they have achieved some success in causing a shift in the public consciousness. But these "radical democratizers," though vocal on the question of democratic rights, have said little about the economic and political rights of the mass of workers and peasants. Acting as individuals, they have had no strategy for drawing the working class into the struggle for civil rights.

With the arrest of scores of "radical democratizers" last year, a more political current within the dissident movement has emerged, a current which recognizes the limitations of the legalistic-constitutional orientation of the Democratic Movement. Many dissidents have come to the conclusion that what is required is a more scientific analysis of the system they are trying to change. They are also beginning to understand the need to develop new forms of organization—even the need to build clandestine parties with an orientation towards the working class.

Recently quite a few clandestine parties have come to our attention. We know very little about them, because of the strict secrecy which surrounds their activity. We learn of their existence, for example, in one or two sentences in the *Chronicle of Current Events* after members have been arrested. They often apparently number no more than a dozen individuals.

Report Successful Strike in Ukraine

[Large-scale protests in the Ukraine continue despite the severe repression that has been carried out in that Republic by the KGB (Soviet secret police). The Kremlin's latest crackdown, initiated in January 1972 against dissidents throughout the Soviet Union, was especially intense in the Ukrainian Republic.

[Recent reports tell of another wave of arrests of opponents of Russification in the city of Lviv, in western Ukraine, in May 1973.

[The massive unrest in the Ukraine has been manifested in the movement of young workers, students, and intellectuals who have criticized the Kremlin's policy on nationalities—Russification—from a Leninist point of view. It has also been evidenced in large-scale protests and strikes by workers for improved living standards.

[The Novocheerkassk incident referred to in the release was the June 1962 uprising against price increases in that industrial city in Rostov Oblast

in the Russian Republic. The internal security forces had to call in special troops and use tanks units to quell the protests.

[Before the Novocheerkassk protests

could be suppressed, they had sparked uprisings in other nearby cities, including two in the Ukraine—Donetsk, a mining and industrial center; and Zhdanov, a port city on the Sea of Azov.

[The city of Szczecin, also referred to in the release, was one of the key centers of workers' strikes and demonstrations in Poland in the winter of 1970-71.

[Large protest demonstrations and strikes occurred in two southern Ukrainian cities in 1972. In Dneprodzerzhinsk in June, over 10,000 "rioted" for two days, destroying government offices and occupying the Komsomol (Young Communist) offices. Around a dozen people were killed and many more wounded by the militia.

[In September, there were large strikes for improved living standards in Dnepropetrovsk, one of the largest industrial cities in the Soviet Union. Many participants were killed and wounded.

[The strike described in the following news release from the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners is the most recent such event that we have received information about. Its

size and the haste with which the workers' demands were met indicate the regime's fears.

According to news recently received from the Ukraine, the workers at the machine-construction factory near the Brest-Litovsk highway in Kiev conducted a strike in May of this year demanding higher wages. Around 11:00 one morning, over 10,000 workers declared a strike and demanded negotiations with the factory officials, who immediately sounded an alarm to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Within an hour, a member of the Politburo of the CC of the UCP made an appearance, and after talking with the workers' representatives, he promised to fulfill their basic demands. Around 3:00 p.m. the majority of the factory's directors were dismissed and within an hour the workers won their demanded pay increase.

The strike had an organized character and the population attributes its success to this fact; in effect, the regime was afraid that it would turn into a new Novocheerkassk, if not a Ukrainian Szczecin.

Frequently, the only indication of their politics is the name they have chosen. Recent examples have included: the Russian Socialist party, which circulated a leaflet in Leningrad calling on workers to launch a general strike; the Party of Nonparty Workers Struggling for the Restoration of Socialism; the Democratic Union of Socialists; the Union of Communards; the Party of Young Workers; and the Party of Real Communists.

It is too early to assess the role these political groupings will play in the coming political revolution. Certainly the economic crisis in the Soviet Union has created a social climate where revolutionary ideas can find a ready response in the working class. Fearing this possibility, the Soviet secret police has intensified its efforts to search out and destroy any incipient organizations. But a clandestine form of organization, as opposed to the "open protests" of the civil rights activists, has permitted these groups to exist in some cases for a considerable period of time, and to gain invaluable experience for future struggles.

Perhaps as important as the existence of these groups—no matter how much terror they may strike in the minds of the KGB—is the huge body of underground literature, samizdat, which the new political attitude has fostered. Today in the USSR there circulate periodicals, full-length books, historical and philosophical essays, translations, and pamphlets dealing with strategic and tactical problems of political opposition. Samizdat plays

a crucial role in the development of political consciousness. It has become the chief medium for the working out of political ideas.

The bureaucracy has become painfully aware of the threat which the samizdat system poses to its hegemony of political expression. It therefore took a decision to put an end to samizdat at all costs, and with this aim it unleashed a wave of mass arrests in January 1972. But the production and circulation of samizdat literature has nonetheless continued unabated. It will continue to give political expression to the forces which are now increasingly prepared to give battle to the bureaucracy.

MS DOLLY KOMAR

ПН. ЛЯЛЯ КОМАР



From the rumor mill . . .

In my first column, I suggested that it is high time that men and women in our community started dealing with the problem of male chauvinism, and female submissiveness and start analysing the roots of that problem. I am happy to report that a group of Toronto women have started a group and are talking about holding a conference sometime this year.

Presently they are preparing a number of papers for discussion among themselves, and plan to hold a women's caucus at the upcoming Eastern SUSK Conference. The topics, so far, are: Historical analysis of the role of Ukrainian women in Canada, Class Analysis of Ukrainian Women in Canadian Society and the Role of Women in the Ukrainian Canadian Community, Analysis of Decision Making in Ukrainian Organizations, How to Organize a Day-Care Centre, Distribution of Birth-Control Information, Minority Women in the Labour Force; The Problems of Non-unionised Labour, and Abortion. They asked me to pass this information on and invite any who are interested/concerned/ would like to/ or have/ something to contribute or those who have started a similar group to write to them care of this column. I will pass on all information.

Certain male chauvinists in the Toronto Ukrainian community, it seems, have attacked this group on the question of abortion, saying that the discussion of abortion has nothing to do with the Ukrainian community. Well brothers, Ukrainian women do have abortions. All that you are demonstrating is your parochial attitude towards women.

Fears have been voiced in the male sector of the SUSK activists that this group, which is primarily composed of student and young working women, will distract from the issues facing our community. It may interest them to know that the chauvinism that women face daily will not disappear with progressive multiculturalism nor the CBC Action, and that in fact in their organization policy decisions are mainly made by the men. They should instead lend their support for such a group. Liberation concerns you too, brothers. We are all part of the system.

Further from the Toronto Rumor Mill . . . The Male Chauvinist Pig of the year award went to that well known Ontario KYK President . . . but agast, blush and stammer . . . he asked the Committee of Ukrainian Canadian Women to take an active role in the policy making and work of Ontario KYK, and they told him to shove it. Seems the award went to the wrong person.

"Student" may be obtained from your local Ukrainian club president, from campus book stores or from the following distributors in cities across Canada:

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If you would like to be a distributor in your school, club, university or city, write to Roman Senkus at the "Student" address. The price of each copy of the newspaper to a distributor is 10 cents.

The "Coming out Zabava" was a great success. Over 800 people came and unfortunately, owing to overpublicity, some 200 more had to be turned away at the door. The dance was organised jointly by SUSK and CESUS, with Wally Petryshyn working from SUSK and Mykola Moros from CESUS. The total profits from the dance were \$2,064.74 and were shared by the two organisations. The organizers of the dance wish to thank all those who helped to make the event a success.

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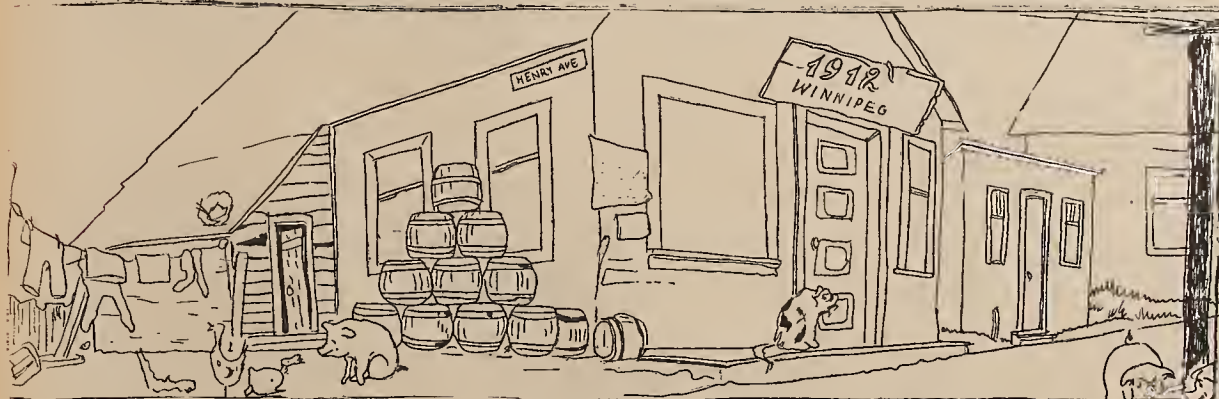
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An Open Letter to Yevgeny Yevtushenko



Yevgeny Yevtushenko,
On the occasion of your
Canadian poetry reading and speaking tour,
December, 1973.

Honoured Sir,

When you spoke out against the crimes and injustice of the United States, I applauded you. We all did. Your words embodied the spirit of truth, of human respect. You were a comrade in the struggle for freedom. But now, you puzzle me.

You seem to be living quite well in the Soviet Union. You are quite comfortable with the Soviet Government. But would it be untimely, Mr. Yevtushenko, to ask you to look at those with whom you share so much and examine what they do? If their hands are soiled with the blood of repression and imperialism, might it not rub off on your's? Are you aware, that the Soviet Government with which you live so comfortably, which gives you so much, which sends you around the world as a representative of the Soviet people, has destroyed some 20 million people in the last 50 years. Destroyed that is, whether by slaughter, starvation, displacement or imprisonment. 20 million human lives. Examine your hands closely Mr. Yevtushenko; the blood of your brothers may be on them.

I am sorry for being so untimely in airing such topics. After all we are living in a new "detente". And besides, what would you know about such matters as Hungary, as Czechoslovakia, as Ukraine? What would you know?

We all opposed the War in Vietnam. Father Daniel Berrigan, a former political prisoner in the United States, one whose brother is still a prisoner, wrote, "More nearly to our point is the emotion arising in certain people, when we reflect upon the common methods pursued by both sides, Russia and the United States, regarding political dissidents. Common methods govern the fate of 'parasites and malcontents' who dare unroll seditious banners in Red Square, dare burn draft files in Catonsville, Maryland...the principle once decided on, like a scenario unrolls east and west; police interrogation, arrests, trials for conspiracy and then the long ride into oblivion, the passage into nonpersonhood, the erasure from human life and the community of human beings."

Have your eyes turned into salt that you do not see? Have your ears turned into ice that you do not hear? Have your nostrils turned into stone that you cannot smell the blood which has been let much closer to you than any Vietnam?

Do you still speak the truth? The truth about human life, about lives of workers, of the poor, of the youth, of those whose passion and lives are daily sacrificed for justice.

The Soviet Union has betrayed justice and truth. It crushes opposition, at whatever cost, by whatever means. In the place of justice is offered the same sickening czarist stereo-type--prisons, labour camps, political indictments, anti-semitism,...puppets. Puppets, Mr. Yevtushenko. The trappings of illegitimate power which (so the claim goes) the revolution rendered null and void. Do you speak for truth and justice? Or are we all betrayed?

"Not to disclose my own attitude towards that which is taking place would mean to become a taciturn participant in the wanton disregard of socialist legality," wrote Vyacheslav Chornovil, a Ukrainian writer. For the disclosure of his attitude he was sentenced recently to seven years hard labour and five years exile from the Ukraine. Mr. Yevtushenko, what is your stand?

And there are scores more like Chornovil. Mykhaylo Soroka, Andrei Amalrik, Ivan Svitlychny, Pyotr Yakir, Yuriy Shukhevych, Valentyn Moroz, Vladimir Bukovsky, and many others. Men "whose only crime was to resist crime". In the words of one, Valentyn Moroz, "To rot behind bars is not easy. Yet to have no respect for oneself is even more difficult." Is it Mr. Yevtushenko?

When these people spoke out against the crimes and injustice of the Soviet Union, who applauded them? Their words continue to embody the spirit of truth, of human respect. Who will speak for them?

Karl Marx once wrote, "A nation that enslaves another, can never itself be free." The question is Mr. Yevtushenko, "Are you free?"

Volodymyr Daschko.